1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
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[P. 165-C]

Among Putnam's net hunters, a more frequent use of skin, of late, has been in the form of a sling for carrying babies, but this is still rare.

Clay and stone are likewise ignored as possible raw materials, nor are there any reports that the Mbuti worked metal at any time. Apart from an exceptional case among the net hunters, quoted by Schebesta (1933), such metal as they require for knife and ax blades, and for arrow and spearheads, they obtain already worked from the villagers.

If the villager supplies the handle as well as the triangular blade, Putnam (1948, 326) writes that the invariable method of hafting is to burn a hole through the wood to take the narrow end of the blade. If the blade alone is supplied, the Pygmy takes a thin sapling or a light branch, splits it, and, without removing the bark, lashes the blade in place with twine or rattan. If a Pygmy is using an ax up in a tree, he will always choose one of his own hafting, because it is lighter. Both men and women use these axes. Putnam (1948, 326) writes that they never use adzes, which are the chief tools of the village woodworkers.

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[Archery] Mbuti
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FIG. 6. Hunting equipment, archery, Kilo District, East Ituri. a. Bow. b–h. Arrows. These are typical of the eastern archers and similar to the bows and arrows of the neighboring Nyari villagers.

FIG. 1. Hunting equipment of a western archer from Ndaye District, Central Iturí. a. Bow. b–h. Arrows. i. Dog bell.

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Bira FO11

[ARCHERS]
[9.174-A]
B
P
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FIG. 19. Hunting equipment, archers, Central Ituri. a–b. Spear, of village origin and villager hafted; probably Bira. c. Spear, hafted by Mbuti. All blades for spears come from the villagers, though Mbuti frequently rehaft spear, ax, and adze blades, to suit their needs.

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[284]

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[ARCHERS]

[P.175-A]

B
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FIG. 13. Adze, Bira villagers, rehafted by Mbuti archers, Central Ituri. A villager utensil, useful but not indispensable to the Mbuti, for the extraction of honey from hives in tree boles.

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[NET HUNTERS]

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FIG. 18. Broom, *edia*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. Such brooms are made daily by net hunters. The area in front of each hut is swept with leafy branches bound loosely together in this manner. [512] [356]

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[NET HUNTERS]

new net. About 12 different kinds of bark can be used for the making of barkcloth, differing not only in color but also in texture. The ivory bark beaters are always hafted (Fig. 22), unlike those of the archers; the beating ends may have one of three forms of grooving (Fig. 23), the dia-

FIG. 22. Bark beater, *kalo*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. While wooden beaters are sometimes used, more frequently the ends of small elephant tusks are hafted and used to make barkcloth.

[462] [476] [P 197-B]

[1] In fact, net making is a major and constant activity calling for cooperation between men and women.

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[NET HUNTERS]

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FIG. 23. Types of grooving found on ivory bark-beater heads, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri.

mond grooving being the commonest. There are only about two bark beaters to a camp.

There are two main ways of preparing the cloth. Strips of the bark of *Ficus* are peeled off the trunk between two horizontal and one vertical slit. Before the beating, the outer bark is scraped off, then the inner bark is softened either by being soaked in water from half an hour to 12 hours, according to the type of bark, or by being heated and smoked over a fire.

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[282]

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[NET HUNTERS]

catch it with their hands, put it in a basket, and 224
continue beating. Their main object is to put up game and drive it toward the nets. There, the men are in readiness, motionless until some animal is tangled in the meshes. Then they seize it, and the owner of that particular net kills the

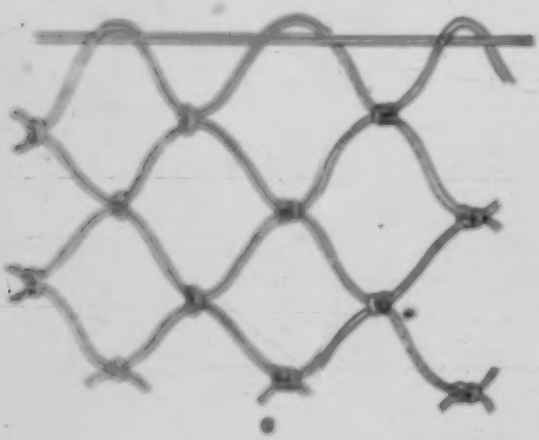

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Fig. 36. Details of knotting used in hunting net, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri.

[P. 203-D]

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Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.207-C]

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FIG. 40. Spear, *ekenge*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. Used throughout the Ituri, except possibly in parts of the north, primarily as a weapon of defense and secondarily for the hunting of large game, including elephant. Mbuti hafting. [84]

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THE MAKING OF CAMP LELO

For an hour the others lay around the fire, while I was pushed into a corner, and discussed where they would go to hunt the next day and which girls they would flirt with. They poked sleepily at the fire, sending up showers of sparks and filling the hut with smoke. In all the huts around us, families were chatting among themselves in a drowsy way, and occasionally some eavesdropper shouted a suitable comment, bringing a burst of laughter from all the nearby huts. The leaf walls keep out no sound at all, and anything said in an ordinary speaking voice can be heard four or five huts away. But before long the voices got sleepier and sleepier, and finally the only sounds were the chirping of crickets, the soft swishing of the already swollen Lelo, and the quiet falsetto of Makubasi as he sat outside his hut, all alone by a blazing fire. He held his baby son on his lap, and sang a lullaby, half to himself and half to the child. He was still singing when I went to sleep.

The next morning the camp was up at dawn, and before it was properly light there was hardly a soul left about—only old Tungana, sitting where his son Makubasi had sat the night before and like his son singing to the baby on his knee. Kenge said that some of the men had gone hunting early, because they needed a lot of meat to begin the molimo festival for Balekimito and they did not want to start until they had plenty of food. The rest of the men and women were out cutting the leaves and saplings needed to finish building the camp. We went to join them, not far off. The rest of the day we spent making the simple furniture of a Pygmy household.

Sticks lashed together and bound by vine thongs to a frame make one of the most uncomfortable beds in the world. The sticks themselves are comfortable enough, but for some reason these beds are made so that each end bends sharply upward and however you lie on it the effect is worse than being in a badly slung hammock. Some Pygmies don't bother with a bed but just put the sticks on the ground and lie on them, or sleep on dry leaves. Tables are made

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the same way, the frame resting on four forked sticks, but we were the only household to bother with a table. The others would build them later, Kenge said, when the hunting brought in so much meat that they could spare some to dry for the villagers. Then they would build tables higher than ours, and light fires under them.

Chairs were even simpler to make. Kenge cut four sticks, each about three and a half feet long, and twisted a vine thong around the middle of the bundle. He stood them on the ground, and with a turn of his hand he splayed out the ends and had a comfortable seat. When you get used to this kind of chair you can even go to sleep, resting your back along one stick and hooking your feet over the opposite one. Pygmies, in the forest, are clean people, and they do not like sitting on the ground. Either they make these simple chairs or they sit on logs, often on the end of a log that is sticking out of a fire. If the worst comes to the worst they will pull a leaf from the roof of the nearest hut and sit daintily on that.

During the day more families arrived, and while they were busy building their huts, those who had arrived the day before put the finishing touches to theirs. Sometimes someone would apparently have a grudge against a neighbor, or a dislike for someone who had built a hut opposite. I saw several women turning the entrances of their huts to point in different directions, toward friends or relatives. During the course of any one camp women are continually adding to their huts or changing the way they face. I found that a good way of keeping track of the little jealousies that exist in any small community was to make a daily plan of the camp, noting which huts were being altered to face in which direction. I noticed that Arobanai, Ekianga's senior wife, faced her hut very deliberately away from old Sau, and that nobody was anxious to make use of the space between Sau's hut and mine to build there.

On the third day Ekianga arrived with Kamaikan, and they in-

765
ing in the shadows, until with surprisingly swift and agile strides 533
she was once more in our midst. In her hands she held a long roll of 765
nkusa twine. The men continued singing, and as they sang, the old 533
woman went around knotting a loop around each man's neck, so 824
that in the end we were all tied together. The men made no attempt [284]
to resist; rather, they ignored what was going on. When they were
all tied in this way, however, they stopped singing.

Moke spoke—I am not sure whether it was for my benefit or 765
because it was his place to say what he did. He said, "This woman
has tied us up. She has bound the men, bound the hunt, and bound
the molimo. We can do nothing." Then Manyalibo said that we
had to admit we had been bound, and that we should give the woman
something as a token of our defeat; then she would let us go. A
certain quantity of food and cigarettes was agreed upon, and the old
woman solemnly went among us again, untying each man. Nobody
attempted to loose himself, but as each man was untied he began to
sing once more—the molimo was free. The old woman received her
gifts and went back to Cephu's camp, where she and her husband
were staying. The couple stayed for another week or two, but she
danced only once again. Before she left us she went to every man,
giving him her hand to touch as though it were some kind of bless-
ing.

It was not long after this that everyone started talking about when
they should bring the molimo to an end. There seemed to be no
specific length of time that it should run, and it was just a question
of convenience.

There was the matter of the elima to be considered, too, as evi- 881
dently one really was due to be held for two girls, each of whom
had reached her first period. The main problem was not the fulfilling
of ritual necessities, but rather how to make the most of the festive
occasion. There were different schools of thought as to whether 881
the elima should take place in the village or the forest; the younger 177

412 hole goes the narrow end of the ax.
[177] This is essentially a Neolithic type of
[439] hafting.

Perhaps the Negro will give him
[313] only the ax head, without a haft. In this case the pygmy will cut down a thin sapling, or a tree branch, just the right thickness, and use it bark and
[284] all. He splits this with his knife, at one end. Then he wraps the split and the blade which he has thrust through it with twine or rattan. The pygmy will use the Negro-hafted ax on the ground, but if he is climbing a tree and needs an ax while up there, he will take along one of his own hafting by preference, because it is lighter.

Both men and women use these axes. The women also have knives of their own, of the same manufacture. These knives are about six inches long, leaf-bladed, double edged. The handle is simply a thick tang, twisted, and thus is all one piece with the blade. In some cases, however, small wooden handles
[462] are added. The women use these for many purposes—for peeling bananas, and preparing other foods for cooking; to cut monocotyledonous leaves for roofing, and to split the stem. In general, it is the all-purpose woman's tool.

412 The man's knife is larger and single
177 edged, a kind of small machete, made
439 in Germany. The Negroes obtain them from white men by trade and give them to the pygmies. I once tried giving them American machetes, of the kind prized in Central America, but they were too large and too heavy.

412 The men use these machetes for cutting
[313] lianas, tree limbs, and so forth. For
[322] small woodwork, however, such as whittling an arrow shaft, they are more likely to use an arrowhead or spearhead, which is nearer the right size.

Axes and the two kinds of knives and arrowheads and spearheads are the only cutting tools the pygmies have or know how to use.

[p. 326-B]